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TOKYO CINCPAC HONOLULU 09 JAN:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0069

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: PEOPLE'S DAILY BLASTS POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS

1. SUMMARY. A JANUARY 4 LIBERATION ARMY DAILY ARTICLE, REPRINTED
IN THE JANUARY 6 PEOPLE'S DAILY, CASTIGATES POLITICAL LEADERS
WHO ACT ACCORDING TO THE PREVAILING WINDS. MAKING CLEAR THAT
THE TARGETS ARE STILL ACTIVE TODAY, THE PSEUDONYMOUS AUTHOR
TAO HSIN CHARGES THAT SUCH PERSONS HAVE "POOR POLITICAL QUALITY,
(THAT) ALTHOUGH THEY HADV NOT NECESSARILY SUNK INTO A FACTIONAL
SYSTEM, THEIR IDEOLOGY IS ANTI-MARXIST-LENINIST." SPECIFICALLY,
SUCH PERSONS OPPOSED THE GANG OF FOUR UNTIL IT APPEARED THAT
THE REALM WAS THEIRS, AT WHICH TIME THEY SHIFTED 180 DEGREES
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AND SHRIEKED ABOUT STRIKING DOWN "CAPITALIST ROADERS" AND THE
"OLD FELLOWS." THE ARTICLE ENDS WITH A DEMAND THAT SUCH
OPPORTUNISTS MEND THEIR WAYS. WHILE THE ONLY SUCH OPPORTUNIST
SINGLED OUT BY NAME IS ERSTWHILE SHANGHAI LEADER MA TIEN-SHUI,
A VETERAN CADRE WHO ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE GANG OF FOUR,
AUTHOR TAO HSIN'S CHOICE OF MA SUGGESTS THAT HIS REAL TARGETS
MAY BE OTHER VETERAN CADRES WHO SIMILARLY SOLD OUT THEIR

PRINCIPLES AS THE POLITICAL WINDS SHIFTED. ASIDE FROM VARIOUS PROVINCIAL LEADERS WHO NIMBLY STRADDLED THE FENCE, POLITBURO MEMBERS WU TEH, CHEN HSI-LIEN AND WANG TUNG-HSING, AMONG OTHERS, MIGHT FIT THE BILL. END SUMMARY.

2. A JANUARY 4 LIBERATION ARMY DAILY ARTICLE, REPRINTED ON PAGE TWO OF THE JANUARY 6 PEOPLE'S DAILY, FEATURES A HARD-HITTING "EXPOSURE" AND "DISSECTION" OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS. PSEUDONYMOUS AUTHOR TAO HSIN ("NEW MORALITY"?) LEAVES THE READER IN NO DOUBT THAT HIS TARGETS ARE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL FIGURES. OPENING THE PIECE WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF A HISTORICAL FIGURE WHO SHIFTED HIS POLITICAL STANCE ACCORDING TO THE PREVAILING POLITICAL WINDS, TAO HSIN QUICKLY NOTES THAT "TWO THOUSAND YEARS LATER, IN OUR PARTY'S STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES AND ESPECIALLY IN THE COURSE OF THE 11TH LINE STRUGGLE (I.E. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE GANG OF FOUR), WE CAN PERCEIVE ANOTHER TYPE OF SO-CALLED 'DISCERNING THE DIRECTION OF THE WIND' PERSONAGE...CHAIRMAN MAO SAID THERE ARE SOME PERSONS WHO "TAKE THE WIND AS THEIR STANDARD. WHEN THE WIND BLOWS FROM THE NORTH TODAY, THEY ARE THE NORTH WIND FACTION. WHEN THE WIND BLOWS TOMORROW FROM THE WEST, THEY ARE THE WEST WIND FACTION. WHEN THE NORTH WIND BLOWS ONCE AGAIN, THEY ARE AGAIN THE NORTH WIND FACTION."

3. TAO HSIN CHARGES THAT SUCH PERSONS HAVE "POOR POLITICAL QUALITY, (THAT) ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NOT NECESSARILY SUNK
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INTO A FACTIONAL SYSTEM, THEIR IDEOLOGY IS ANTI-MARXIST-LENINIST; ALTHOUGH THEIR NUMBERS ARE NOT GREAT, THEIR EFFECT IS EXTREMELY BAD."

4. THE GREATER PART OF THE ARTICLE IS DEVOTED, IN THE WORDS OF THE TITLE, TO PROVODING A "PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THE CHARACTER TYPES OF THE 'SHIFTING WITH THE WIND' PERSONAGE." WITH "SHARP BRAINS," "WEAK BONES," "SENSITIVE NOSES," AND "THICK SKINS," SUCH PEOPLE SHIFT WITH THE TIDES, YIELD UNDER PRESSURE, CONCEAL THEIR TRUE COLORS, SEEK PERSONAL ADVANTAGE, AND DEVOTE THEIR EVERY EFFORT TO SNIFFING OUT A NEW TREND. SUCH PEOPLE, THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES, OUGHT TO BE EMBARRASSED TO STAND BEFORE THE MARTYRS OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION.

5. THE ONLY SUCH PERSON SINGLED OUT BY NAME FOR CRITICISM IS MA TIEN-SHUI, THE LOYAL FOLLOWER OF THE GANG OF FOUR WHO WAS IN DAY-TO-DAY CHARGE OF SHANGHAI WHEN HIS LEADERS CHANG, WANG AND YAO WERE IN PEKING. MA, PRESUMABLY, IS SELECTED TO REPRESENT A TYPE: THE VETERAN CADRE NOT INHERENTLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE GANG OF FOUR BUT WHO, OUT OF EXPEDIENCY, SHIFTED 180 DEGREES AND BEGAN TO SHRIEK ABOUT STRIKING DOWN "CAPITALIST ROADERS" AND THE "OLD FELLOWS."

6. TAI HSIN STATES HIS GOAL IN EXPOSING THIS TYPE: "IT IS NONE OTHER THAN TO FURTHER DEEPEN CRITICISM OF THE GANG OF FOUR, TO ERADICATE THE RESIDUAL POISON OF THE GANG OF FOUR," AND TO EXHORT THIS TYPE TO MEND HIS WAYS -- BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. ASSERTING IN CONCLUSION THAT "THE GREAT MAJORITY" OF SUCH PERSONS CAN RECTIFY THEIR PAST MISTAKES, TAO OFFERS THE "PRESCRIPTION": "STRUGGLE AGAINST SELFISHNESS AND CRITICIZE REVISIONISM, ESTABLISH THE PARTY FOR ALL, SUM UP LESSONS, AND ARDUOUSLY CORRECT PREVIOUS ERRORS."

7. COMMENT: WHEN ONE SCANS THE ROSTER OF POLITBURO MEMBERS, IT REQUIRES NO GREAT IMAGINATIVE EFFORT TO IDENTIFY PERSONS RESEMBLING MA TIEN-SHUI IN HIS TWO MAJOR ATTRIBUTES: VETERAN
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CADRE STATUS AND REPUTATION FOR POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY. WU TEH, CHEN HSI-LIEN AND WANG TUNG-HSING ALL ADOPTED AN EQUIVOCAL STANCE ON THE MAJOR ISSUES OF THE PAST TWO YEARS: THE PURGE OF TENG, THE TIEN AN MEN INCIDENT, THE PURGE OF THE GANG OF FOUR, AND THE RETURN OF TENG HSIAO-PING. OTHER POLITBURO MEMBERS, WHILE LESS ASSOCIATED IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH OPPORTUNISTIC POLITICAL SHIFTS, ARE NONETHELESS TINGED WITH A "LEFTIST" IDENTIFICATION OUT OF TUNE WITH THE CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE. IN THIS CATEGORY WOULD FALL CHI TENG-KUEI, NI CHIH-FU, LI TE-SHENG, AND PERHAPS HUA KUO-FENG; ALL ROSE CONSPICUOUSLY DURING THE HEYDAY OF THE GANG OFFOUR. DEAN UNQUOTE. VANCE

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